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English Is 'Inevitable'

The Official Languages Bill introduced in the Parliament by the Home Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, has only intensified the language controversy that has been raging so fiercely in the country over some years now. As in the case of many other major national problems, the Congress Leaders have simply muddled through this question by their usual agitational and political approach to it. They find it difficult to outgrow the fossilized traditions built up in the days of anti-British agitation under the leadership of Gandhiji. Hindi belongs to this category of Gandhian fads such as Charka and Khadi, which are still sitting like a dead and heavy weight on India's material and spiritual progress. It is therefore not enough merely to try to get an equal status for English and Hindi as official languages. The enlightened public opinion of India must now take the offensive and mount a forceful and concentrated attack on any attempt on the part of the Government to uncrown English and upgrade Hindi as the Union Official Language, as proposed in the Official Languages Bill. Bi-lingualism at the Union level with English relegated to a subordinate position will, if at all, aggravate rather than cure the disease of lingualism which is so deeply corroding into our national life and almost paralysing it.

Not One But Fourteen National Languages

That Hindi is or could be the sole National Language of India is no more than a myth sedulously fostered by the Hindi fanatics. Hindi is merely a regional language spoken by some forty per cent of the population of India, mostly concentrated in the northern provinces. Moreover the percentage of literacy of these Hindi-speaking regions is the lowest in India and very few people out of this forty per cent can read and write it. It would be therefore not surprising if it were to be found on careful investigation and study, that the number of the people who can read and write English in India is greater than those who are fairly acquainted with Hindi. It is therefore very difficult to see what special advantage would accrue to the common people of India by replacing English by Hindi and how the introduction of Hindi as an official language would democratise the administration of the country as claimed by the Hindi enthusiasts. Moreover it could not be said of Hindi with any ring of conviction that it has even developed to the stage reached by many other competent Indian languages like Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujarati and others. Under these circumstances, it would be absolutely unfair and unjust to the non-Hindi group of languages, to accord Hindi a privileged position as a federal language neglecting the superior claims of these other

languages, only because Hindi-speaking politicians dominate the political scene at the Centre to-day.

This relative strength of other regional languages vis-a-vis Hindi highlights the incontrovertible fact that India has no single National Language as such but on the other hand, has as many as fourteen National Languages widely differing from one another in their origin, growth, structure, and idiom. All of them stand on an equal footing and so the forced upgrading of Hindi language as the official language, will not be calculated to allay the legitimate fears and apprehensions of non-Hindi people that the Hindis are entertain the sinister intention to monopolise Central services and political power and thus, reduce the non-Hindi people to the status of inferior citizenship.

It seems therefore inevitable that the neutral English language which admittedly scores over all our regional languages in vocabulary both scientific and literary, and practical utility, should continue to serve as the sole All India Language as it has been doing so well over a century, in the interest of harmony, goodwill and amity among the various linguistic groups of the Indian Union.

Withdraw the Bill and Continue the Status Quo

This language issue has been with us for too long a time. It has almost divided India into two broad linguistic divisions, the Hindi and non-Hindi. Each one of these groups loves its respective mother-tongue more than any other, the only difference in the case of Hindi group being that it is now fired with the ambition of imposing Hindi on non-Hindi groups as a compulsory Official Language whether the latter will it or not. The Southerners and Bengali people are in no mood to submit to this dictation from the North, as evidenced from the plethora of denunciatory statements that have been issued by non-Hindi members of the Parliament and other leading public men of the South and the East. Shri Rajagopalachari the veteran patriot has rightly knocked the bottom out of the Hindi myth by declaring that Hindi is not 'inevitable'. We would go further and say that under the linguistic situation obtaining in India, for another twenty-five years English is indispensable at the Centre and in all High Courts and Universities. Let Hindi and other equally competent national languages have full play and free scope during this period in the primary and secondary schools and offices and courts of the respective States. Let them be given a fair opportunity of registering a satisfactory progress in the matter of meeting the language needs of a modern industrial and

progressive society which we are trying to build through our national planning. Then only will come the proper time to reconsider the advisability if at all, of replacing English by one of these national languages—not necessarily by Hindi for reasons stated above—as the official language at the Centre and the language of instruction at the University stage.

In the meanwhile the only rational and plausible solution of the problem seems to be: Bi-lingualism in the States with English as an associate and inter-regional 'link' language and unilingualism at the Centre with English as the sole federal language and the sole medium of University education throughout India. It is high time our leaders learnt to think straight and act swiftly, if the alarming linguistic situation in the country is not to further deteriorate. Especially after the ugly scenes witnessed in the Parliament on the introduction of the Languages Bill, Mr. Nehru had better advise the Home Minister to withdraw the Bill with a promise to continue the present status quo for another twenty-five years as the present time is not yet propitious for effecting the language reform. Even the Constitution may be suitably amended if need be, in order to stop the linguistic rot that has set in, in the wake of Hindi intransigence.

* * *

ASIAN TREND TOWARDS 'CENTRALISM'

It was Lenin who familiarised the world with the phrase 'Democratic Centralism.' He said that the Soviet State and the Communist Party were both founded on democratic centralism. This phrase was coined by the Communists to confuse and confound critics who said that Russian Revolution did not expand and enlarge democratic freedom as promised by Marx but in fact scuttled it under Proletarian dictatorship. The Arab world under the leadership of Nasser the Socialist Dictator of Egypt seems to have taken a cue from this Red verbal jugglery. The three States of Egypt, Syria and Iraq are reported to have come together under a so-called United Arabic Republic, whose destinies will be guided by only one party 'The United Front' embracing all the three different States. President Nasser will be, of course, 'elected' the President of this federal Republic and armed as he will be with sweeping powers to appoint and dismiss Ministers, dissolve the Federal and regional legislature, veto laws, issue decrees and make major appointments in the army and in administrative and judicial departments, he will hold unchallenged sway over the domestic and foreign policies of the Republic. A democratic tinge has been sought to be given to this totalitarian pattern by the proposed two Federal Houses, the Upper and the Lower. All the three States will have equal representation in the Upper House while in the Lower House they will be represented under the proportional representative system. The sure election of Nasser as the President, and the majority which Egyptians will

command in the Lower House will confer on President Nasser a commanding position in this new Republic. Cairo will be the capital and it is to be noted that foreign affairs, defence, education, currency trade and communication will be federal subjects.

The Constitution envisaged by the manifesto so ringingly proclaimed by the Arab leaders of the three countries, is not calculated to enthuse the democrats of the world, though as a matter of formality, the heads of the Western States might welcome the emergence of this new Arabic State. But conscientious democrats will have certainly much to say against Islam being declared a State religion even in this mid-twentieth century which reduces the 'freedom of conscience and worship' of the minorities to a nullity, particularly when the State is not founded upon the civil and democratic rights of the people. So also the banning of all political parties except 'The United Front' should come as a disappointment to all those who value freedom of combination and association and of opinion and self-expression as being of the essence of democratic freedom.

This One Party Rule under the dictatorship of Nasser in this new State will have to be watched with the greatest anxiety and attention by the world democrats. Experience has shown that in the newly emerging independent countries of backward Asia and Africa, democracy becomes the first casualty in the din and the dust raised

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constantly by politically ambitious leaders in the name of 'Nationalism' and 'Socialism'. Arab Nationalism appears to be a hot-house growth, having sprung not out of 'a consciousness of kind' binding together all the component parts of the new Arab Republic but out of a peculiar Arab brand of Socialist Statism imposed upon the people by Nasser and his confreres who are mostly army-men. This is a case in which 'Nationalism is not the cause but the result of the State.' (Rudolf Rocker in 'Nationalism and Culture').

India, Malaya, Japan and Israel still remain as the outposts of Asian democracy in this welter of resurgent totalitarianism which is fast spreading its tentacles in Asia from China, Burma and Indonesia in the East to Pakistan and Arab States in the West. And it may be pointed out that exactly these totalitarian States want India to be strictly non-aligned, especially with Western democracies even in an emergency. India will therefore do well to learn a lesson from this Asian trend and revise her ideas of Socialism and Nationalism, if she sincerely wishes to escape this totalitarian avalanche sweeping all over Asia and preserve her free way of life.

POLITICS OF A 'MAYAWADIN'

Prime Minister Nehru's complacency regarding the Sino-Indian conflict is simply amazing and takes one's breath away. It was not very long ago that Nehru told the country that anything might happen at any time on the Sino-Indian border and people should be ready to face the Chinese challenge boldly. But his 'special' knowledge of the currents and cross-currents of world politics or better still of the working of the Communist minds of Khrushchev and Mao, must have again brought about a volte face in his thinking. The other day he said in the Parliament that it would require a lengthy lecture to elucidate his view-point that, despite the concentration of Chinese troops on Sikkim-Tibet border and the mysterious sighting of some foreign vessels suspected to be Chinese near-about Andhra coast, China was not likely to invade India again.

Whatever might be Nehru's superior wisdom in making these contradictory statements, the common man of India could not but conclude that these politics of 'Mayawad' (politics of negation) of Mr. Nehru are only a continuation of the naive policies of our ex-Defence Minister Mr. Krishna Menon who also could never imagine that China a Communist country would ever invade India. He would like to remind Mr. Nehru once again of the shameful defeat India sustained in NEFA battles in last October in consequence of such defence policies. The recent reports from the Sikkim border and from the Indian waters near Andhra State present to the country hard and brutal facts which could not be slightly brushed aside and negated by our illusions and dreams' without endangering the security and safety of India.

Or may it be that Mr. Nehru's present com-

placency is born of his firm determination to keep this India-China border question hanging fire for years together as in the case of Kashmir, by referring it to arbitration or to the Hague Court for which course of action he has now secured the full consent and sanction of his own party, if not of the country?

THE RUSSELL WAY TO WORLD PEACE

The Grand Old Philosopher Bertrand Russell has been once again at his pet game of communist-boosting and democracy-baiting. The light has suddenly dawned on him now that the world has been saved for peace and from nuclear holocaust by Mr. K. of Russia dismantling his rocket bases in Cuba and also by Mr. Chou's unilateral declaration of cease-fire at NEFA. In his latest book 'Unarmed Victory' he has revealed this latest discovery he has made in the realm of War and Peace and has paid handsome compliments to these two world heroes for their generosity and peacefulness.

Uptil now the democratic world attributed Mr. Russell's peace antics to his nervous anxiety and concern for the future of humanity. But this latest exploit beats all his record and exposes him in his true colours as a fellow-traveller who believes with Lenin that whatever helps the advance and progress of communism in the world is just and moral and whatever hinders and retards it is unfair and immoral. Russell's way to peace thus lies through the purgatory of communism.

Otherwise how could he bring himself to describe K. as a peacemaker when the world knows that he wanted to blast peace in the American hemisphere by planting his rocket bases in Cuba which he was forced to dismantle by Mr. Kennedy by a show of democratic strength? How could also he describe Mr. Chou as a man of peace when he first started the war on India and occupied unauthorisedly the NEFA territory by force and only declared 'cease-fire' when he found that he had overplayed his part from a military point of view and when the 'cease-fire' terms themselves dictate a unilateral peace to India favouring China at the point of the bayonet?

It is no use labouring the point and arguing with a man who has grown old and senile. As the Sanskrit saying goes, 'Old men should not be taken too seriously.'

—D. M. Kulkarni.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

'I do not fear the Atomic Bomb. If there is a threat to our civilisation, it is more likely to come from boredom that will result from a totalitarian welfare State and from the exclusion of individual enterprise.'

—Bernard Berenson.

'When any commodity is carried to market, it is not the necessity of the vendor but the necessity of the purchaser that determines the price.'

—Edmund Burke.

THE CORRUPTION OF MORAL IDEALS

M. A. VENKATA RAO

When a minister imagines that he has cleared himself of the charge of having taken lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm, simply by saying unabashedly that he had done so for the Party Fund and when the Prime Minister, instead of subjecting such ministers to legal process, coolly and lightheartedly asserts that embezzlement really consists in the 'disgruntled' critics calling this misdeed a 'scandal', they are corrupting the moral ideal itself and blunting social conscience. Socialism has thus become a means for the perpetuation of party-power through corruption. The writer therefore pleads for revising our traditional morality in terms of rational thought and conduct.

If the salt loseth its savour, wherewith will it be salted? More dangerous than particular lapses from moral standards, (especially in those in political authority), is the attempted defence of their misconduct through sophistry. There is abundant material for the moralist, satirist and psychologist as well as for the rational social reformer in current disclosures of the misdeeds of those in positions of prestige and influence.

Such attempts to make light of serious moral offences, to whitewash them, hush them up and hide them from public view has been one of the most disturbing defects of the leaders who have come to power with the advent of independence.

This trait of theirs has of course much wider roots in social history but today in the process of running a fully sovereign, self-governing democracy with equal status and power in the comity of nations, the weakness is having grave and far-reaching ramifications that threaten the success of the democratic experiment as well as making the career of national independence itself one of hazard beyond our capacity to digest.

When a minister accused of taking lakhs of rupees from a commercial firm coolly says that it was for the sake of the party fund and thereby imagines that he has cleared himself of the moral taint imputed to him by the alleged misdeed, he is going beyond committing evil. He is **corrupting the moral ideal itself**, its image in his own and other people's mind and imagination.

When the prime minister of a democratic country refuses to subject serious charges of financial malpractice to the tune of crores against his favourite ministers (old cronies of pre-independence days) to legal progress and has the light-heartedness to pun on the word 'scandal' and to assert brazenly that the alleged embezzlement was not the true scandal but that it consisted in calling it a scandal by disgruntled critics, he is blunting the edge of the moral and social conscience in the nation and the electorate.

In the first days of independence in 1947, people were shocked and startled when they heard that the ruling party had started demand-

ing contributions from sugar and textile mills pro rata per unit of machinery. But as days wore on, such practice became the accepted custom of raising party funds.

The vast patronage extending to the disbursal of hundreds of crores of rupees every year in town and country under various trends, routine and extra routine, administrative and welfare departments, most of which went to party supporters at all levels now scarcely raises a murmur of protest nor any gesture of justification. Socialism has become just a means for the perpetuation of party power!

Discount with the ruling party, its leadership and their stewardship of the nation's affairs, including its security and defence, is well-nigh universal. But every by-election tells a uniform and depressing tale of thumping Congress success! Witness this month's five elections in Calcutta, a hotbed of disaffection against Congress from Gandhi's days though it has been!

Even according to permissible expenses, a total of some Rs. 15 crores for all the seats would have to be spent by a party contesting all seats. But it is estimated that over Rs. 60 crores have been spent during the last elections by the ruling party. No other party can even approach it in its capacity for raising funds because of its vantage position in the seats of administration. For instance, it was openly charged by many in press, platform and the legislature in Madras on the eve of the last general elections that bus owners had been asked to contribute Rs. 1,000 per bus to the ruling party's coffers! It was not denied.

Though commercial and industrial magnates as well as small independent traders and business men stand to lose all under the present policy of expanding socialism (or state monopoly of economic power), they are intimidated directly or indirectly into paying through the nose, for fear of losing heavily in the **immediate present**.

What is corrupting in these practices is the unabashed and unashamed manner in which they continue, in utter indifference to and contempt of public criticism and the outrage of social conscience.

In this exalted endeavour of rebuilding morale, rational reflection and creative thinking

on the foundation of morality and conscience, social and individual are absolutely necessary. There is little sign of such a renaissance of thinking in the post-independent generation, leaders or private persons.

In this critical context, it is illuminating to turn to great thinkers like Plato for guidance.

Plato astonished his contemporaries and succeeding generations of scholars and readers by his wholesale rejection of Homer as the medium of instruction, text of morality and mirror of moral exemplars to the Greeks. Homer was famed already in the fifth century B.C. as the teacher of Hellas, **par excellence**. He presented ideal types of heroes and gods to the imagination of Greeks which moulded education and conduct for young and old for centuries.

But Plato raised the question of the morality of many of the episodes in Homer's epic and challenged their purity and suitability to portray ideals for the exaltation of human nature.

He admitted the entrancing poetic quality of Homer's stanzas and the value of many wise sayings that crystallised the best conscience and experience of the Greek race. But in many other respects, he dared to point out that Homer gave too many instances that are sure to have a **corrupting influence!**

He referred to the incident of Zeus himself being seized with ungovernable lust for Here, his wife whom He throws incontinently to the ground before others for intercourse! He gives instances of the jealousy and rivalry of the Olympian gods and goddesses who take sides in human wars and rivalries, **not on merits** but as instruments of their own revenge or favouritism! Homer has no clear image of the steadfast wisdom and justice of the gods. Plato suggests therefore that educators in his ideal republic should represent divine as **One** and **unchanging** in its nature and always absolutely **just** and impartial.

The prestige of Homer as a great poet, Plato thinks, is being misused to lend prestige to the evil suggestions conveyed by the wicked doings of gods and heroes. And since poetry has a charming effect on the emotional imagination, it will influence the heart in a bad way by investing evil with radiant beauty and attractiveness. This blinds the moral conscience instead of purifying it.

He therefore suggests boldly that Homer should be **banned** from the schools in his Ideal Republic!

His point is that moral ideals themselves should not be corrupted by irrelevant admiration for other attractions.

We have a similar problem with us today. Europe faced this crisis in values several times—in the renaissance and in the reformation and in the French enlightenment or rationalism and

the mid-nineteenth century evolutionary materialism. Psychoanalysis and Psychiatry have added their own quota to the unsettling effects of the new thought on the role of emotions and instincts on culture, national character and the stream of ideas and ideals current in the social mind.

We have stirrings similar to these amidst us today. But they are not taking systematic independent forms. They are presenting themselves in negative forms of revolt and sweeping destruction. But reflection on **fundamentals** is urgent and necessary for the needed renovation of life and character to start and make headway.

We have to review the entire past culture of the country from the standpoint of moral conscience and rationality.

We have a plethora of material to use.

For instance, in the Sanskrit play of **Naganada** written by the emperor Sri Harsha (who reigned at Kanauj in the first part of the seventh century A.D.), we have the hero Jeemutavahana, the king of the Vidyadharas and emperor to be by grace of the goddess, Gauri, coolly ignoring the threat of Martanda a neighbouring king to invade the country!

He is more concerned with the Buddhist ideal of extinction of egoism, of nirvana. He is inspired by the bodhisattva ideal of offering his body as food for other creatures. But his duty as king to **live** for his people, to look after their welfare including security does not appeal to him. He surrenders royal power to ministers in order to look after his aged parents himself who have retired to the forest. This is no doubt a value but it should not eclipse his duty to his people which is his royal or political dharma, the duty of his station in life. The drama has a number of stanzas exalting surrender of life and offer of one's body for vultures, etc.

He is hailed as a moral hero, dharma veera. But this is surely a corruption of moral ideals. When the enemy is at the door the first duty of the ruler is to arrange night and day defence.

There are other instances in actual history of buddhist moralists preaching absolute non-violence and **welcoming the Huna invaders** rather than preaching resistance!

No wonder that centuries of such corrupt teaching that confuses flight from life's obligations out of world-weariness and feebleness of heart (**hridaya dourbalya** as Krishna calls it in the Gita) with virtue produced the state of society in which Muslim looters like Ghazni and Ghori could have their fill of plunder and later small companies of horsemen, (one hundred) could conquer whole kingdoms and **hold** them for centuries!

For the roots of strength had been undermined by a philosophy of decadence encouraging
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CURTAIN CALL AT POMPAPUR

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

"The Republic of Pompapur", which in the most amusing way showed how Congress confused pomp with power, words with work, is no longer available with booksellers as probably the Congress bought and destroyed the unsold copies. The A. I. C. C. Session however raises the curtain on a pomposity of words, so empty of reason and so contrary to facts, that one is not sure whether clowns or children were holding the stage. The A. I. C. C. Session which in devious ways is paid for from the taxes of the people, cannot do much good even to the Congress, first, when discussion in it is limited only to supporting existing policies, second those who differ are threatened with action, third, when criticism of other parties is not even considered for such refutation as is possible. In any case, a Session open to the Press can only be the stage performance of an actor in a scene of seduction in which the lady is his own old wife. Good acting!

Morarji's praise of Nehru reminded me of Deputy Collectors when they came to me for some favours. He said India was for peace which sounded like the explanation of an Irishman that because he believed in Peace he knocked out his opponent. He maintained that China had betrayed our confidence without realising that our leaders, ambassadors and Secret Service must be blamed and punished for misplacing that confidence. Peace has been defined as a period of cheating between two wars and those who allowed us to be cheated, do not deserve credit.

Hanumanthayya has the courage to represent the voiceless section of the Congress which cannot understand how non-alignment is a triumph when it attracted the attack of the Chinese. The question which he pertinently raised that China did not attack Pakistan and Taiwan because of their alignment, could not be answered by anyone who therefore resorted to attacking him. When a whole party can ignore simple logic, it can only mean that it has ceased either to think or to care if others think. The many who attacked Hanumanthayya and opposed alignment, probably have never asked themselves if the aid we have received from democratic countries is not an act of alignment. The four MIGs and the factory for them is on the other hand a manifestation of non-alignment because they are of no use till our war with China is over. The Russians remind one of a man, who when asked why he did not stop two people who were hitting each other with chairs, replied that he did not want to break his own chair.

Probably imitating Nehru, whom he is hoping to succeed, Patnaik rode a high horse, with

statements which were mutually contradictory. He said he was for non-alignment but he wanted help from other countries if it did not mean flying "into their laps and going to sleep." Exactly why other countries should give us crores worth of help if we continue to behave superciliously with them, did not strike him. All the statements made at the A.I.C.C. will be used by Americans, opposed to us, to reduce the foreign aid now under discussion, which means that Patnaik and the Congress are throwing away the defence available to the country. He said that he disclosed the strength of our army to frighten the enemy but added that he would disclose our weakness to our people so that they may contribute more. He expects the enemy to hear only what frightens it. Threatening Hanumanthayya, he added that there are many in the Congress for personal benefits. If so, he should have cleared himself of charges made in the Parliament that his Airline misappropriated supplies for NEFA, that he misused his licence to make 50 lakhs by the sale of zinc tubes, that he is involved in the Sirajjudin case. If he is living in a glass house, mere bluster will not save him from stones which will be thrown back.

Nanda's was the most pitiful performance. When faced by various speakers including Ministers with the failure of planning and the misuse of Community Projects, he blamed the Agriculture Ministry and the States. If as Planning Minister he cannot control his own work, he should make way for some one who can do so or press that Planning should be given up. He complained there were divisions in the administration, the Congress Party and even in the ministries. He forgot he himself started the Socialist Forum in the Congress, the first formal division of the Congress Party. A little story will do him good. When a husband proposed that the tenth anniversary of their wedding may be celebrated with a duck for dinner, the wife inquired why a duck should be killed for what happened ten years ago.

Nehru's contribution was to declare that attacks of corruption on Ministers were bogus and personal attacks on ministers were not *bonafide*. No one cares if Malaviya eats kangaroos but if he swallows money, the attack on him is not in his personal but public capacity. Nehru spread his umbrella over Menon when he was betraying the country to the communist, but if he continues spreading it over Ministers openly accused of corruption, he may convince the country that it must replace him if there is to be any change for the better. When a man was arguing for polygamy he was told that the law knew better what one wife meant, and had to protect him from too many of them. Nehru

had better look after himself before he protects those who must defend themselves.

The Conference missed the opportunity to answer the charges which were made on the same day in Parliament by Frank Anthony that Nehru and Menon by their interference were responsible for the defeat of our armies, by Nath Pai that "groupism and favouritism" in the army had lowered its morale and that the communists in and outside the Congress, were driving Nehru to make statements which will forfeit foreign assistance. Even if the Congress is wonderful, it cannot claim the right to throw away assistance the country can receive from others.

(Continued from Page 6)

ing shirking and softness and withdrawal into the shell of individual egoism. Sanyas and moksha became exclusive social ideals. Other worldliness ruled supreme in the intellectual and moral realms which left this world to the tender mercies of the aggressor, the beast of prey who was closer to nature.

Moral philosophy should construct an ideal of life that should help us how to make the best of life, harmonising **all values** and not deny them altogether (neti, neti, negation) and shrinking from hardness.

We should, like Plato, have the courage and honesty to revise our traditional ideals in terms of reason.

We need not for instance defend the conduct of Sri Rama in sending Sita in pregnant condition to the forest just to please unthinking ignoramuses like a washerman critic. Moreover, even if he wanted to abandon her, why should the poor innocent lady be sent to the forest and left there alone? She could have been left in a house in the capital city?

Also it is not necessary to defend Sri Rama in his treacherous action in killing Vali by shooting at him from behind a tree all unknown to him. This is unwarrior-like and indefensible. A vedantist defends this action as being motivated by the fear that if he challenged him in open fight, Vali might surrender and it would then become his duty as a kshatriya to save one who surrenders! And he had promised Vibhishana to kill Vali beforehand; This is to defend one wrong by another!

The right procedure is to admit the wrong done to Vali by Rama as part of his diplomacy. It was the price he had to pay for the friendship and help of Vibhishana and his hosts in invading Lanka. The end justifies the means, **if the end is good and necessary.**

These are only instances.

It is high time that a thorough spring cleaning of traditional morality is undertaken and new rational ideals of conduct and types of character, national and individual, are constructed as part of nation-building in the era of independence.

THE MIRAGE OF COMMUNIST RIFT

"The dream of a communist rift is another mirage towards which romantic eyes are directed from New Delhi. Khrushchev has spoken out pretty decisively that this rift is not going to be. As two are needed for any quarrel, without his participation there can be no real battle in communist camp, even if that possibility be at all relevant for the Sino-Indian problem. Nor are the recent difficulties of Western Powers and their mutual differences of any use or consequence for us, however interesting they may be to the international observer. Other people's difficulties may be a kind of vulgar consolation for those who are in trouble, but such satisfaction is neither noble nor wise, nor at all helpful in the direction of easing our problems. Our road is plainly indicated. The way down to Peking is easy as it slopes down, but it leads to peril and dishonour."

—C. Rajagopalachari.

'Hindi is not inevitable', Says C. R.

Madras, April 16—In an exclusive interview on the Languages Bill, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari told the Hindustan Times: "I see no good in arguing with a public and a leadership that wish by hook or crook their mothertongue to become the official language of administration all over India and the medium of study and of examinations so that the entire administrative machinery may in due course of time become their instrument for fully achieving their purpose.

"I entirely agree with Mr. Frank Anthony in what he told Parliament."

"We must give up the notion that Hindi is inevitable and unite all our efforts to oppose and resist injustice. If we admit the ultimate inevitability we have necessarily to admit immediate steps for gradually reaching the goal as quite justifiable.

"We should not, therefore, presume that it is inevitable. If we allow that we stand defeated even now."

"If the Prime Minister and his Government weakly yield to folly and demagogic pressure they would be abetting disintegration of India and splitting of our motherland into Hindi and non-Hindi. The neutral and international medium of English will alone sustain and nourish unity, enlightenment and peace."

A. I. C. C. AT SEA

(By M. N. THOLAL)

OPENING the session of the All-India Congress Committee, the Congress President, D. Sanjivayya, reaffirmed the determination of the people to recover "every inch of territory illegally occupied by Chinese aggressors". He said there could be no surrender to aggression and the Chinese invaders had to be driven out from our sacred soil. What some far-sighted people are worried about is not the determination of the people but the determination of the Government, as evidenced by the measures it is adopting to recover "every inch of our territory". For, it is the determination of the Government that really matters and not the determination of an ignorant people who are easily misled. Had the determination of the people been the decisive factor, the Chinese would not have succeeded in their October invasion.

An appeal for unity is all right, even though unnecessary, for barring some Communists there is unity in the land against the Chinese. But the Congress President in appealing for unity struck a discordant note. "Unfortunately", he said, "I have come across certain Congressmen who have not completely expressed themselves in favour of certain fundamental policies of the Congress, and whose behaviour is such that would not enhance the prestige and honour of the Congress." And he threateningly added, "We have taken serious notice of this." Apparently the prestige and honour of the Congress is dearer to him than the prestige and honour of the country, for the sake of which certain Congressmen have failed miserably. Surely those fundamental policies of the Congress do not constitute its creed that the Congress President should dictator-like threaten those who differ from them?

It is a sad commentary on the patriotism and rectitude of Congressmen that they do not have the courage to speak out boldly what is in their hearts, for fear of offending the Leader. It is a continuation of the Gandhian era which led to the division of the country, and makes one seriously doubt the capacity of the Congress to face up to the task of confronting it. Indeed, except for Mr. Hanumanthiya's contribution, the whole debate was unrealistic and hollow in the extreme and it seemed as if the debaters had been set their tasks—in any case they knew what their role was—and they did what they could to the best of their poor ability, without their hearts or even their minds in it.

Mr. Morarji Desai said the Chinese perhaps thought that since India was wedded to peace and non-violence, it would never try to meet aggression by force and that they would be able to get away with what they desired. Surely the

Chinese knew what happened in Kashmir when we gained our independence. Surely they had heard of Goa also, proof positive of our non-violence. Instead of thus bamboozling his audience he would have been nearer the mark if he had said the Chinese knew the state of our unpreparedness to face a massive invasion, even though we knew the Chinese were massing their forces on our border. Of course he could not say that, because it would have been an indirect condemnation of our policy of non-alignment as well as of the Government, of which he is such a shining light, responsible for the unpreparedness.

As if he had that guilty idea in mind, he said, "We are going to make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor from our territory." That is the crux of the question: whether within the time at our disposal or the period he envisages, our armed forces will be able to throw out the aggressor from our territory. For, the aggressor also, according to the Prime Minister's own version, is strengthening his position by further massing of troops on our borders. We should not talk as if the Chinese had gone to sleep after the October-November invasion, but yet such silly unpatriotic talk, implicit in our talk of strengthening our armed forces, is absolutely necessary to bolster up the tottering non-alignment, and that is why it is being indulged in by almost all Congress leaders.

"Non-Alignment Cannot Fail"

The strength of the Chinese Army is no secret and to face that stern reality cannot by any means be described as spoiling the morale of the country or its armed forces. On the other hand, to accept Mr. Desai's resolve and its ability to accomplish the task without massive external aid may well be called complacency, which brought about the October invasion. For nearly thirty years we heard that non-violence cannot fail and now for some years past we have in effect been hearing that non-alignment cannot fail. Even after non-violence failed successively, we went on hearing from our great Leader, "Non-violence cannot fail". Similarly ever after non-alignment has failed, we go on hearing from our great Leader and his apparently devout followers that non-alignment cannot fail.

If non-alignment has not failed, why did it take such a long time for the AICC to meet after the October invasion? Was that invasion an insignificant event? Had the Congress President and Secretaries gone to sleep or were ordered sleep by the present Super-President of the Congress? (Nehru called Gandhi the Super-President of the Congress, and he is truly his successor). Were the Congress leaders afraid

that, if the session were held soon after the invasion, the failure of non-alignment would be too fresh in public memory for them to deny it even a semblance of plausibility? Was not the session postponed for such a long time in the interest of the policy of non-alignment—until in fact they came to the conclusion that the main lesson of the October invasion had been forgotten? Will it be treachery on the part of any one to say that the Chinese leaders are also, like Mr. Desai, saying among themselves that they are going to make armed forces fully capable of dealing with our increased strength on the border as they did with whatever there was of it in October last?

Coming from a region most likely to be affected, Mr. K. C. Pant on the same day in Parliament said the people in the U. P. hill districts "living directly under the snout of the Chinese dragon" naturally felt concerned over the reported massing of Chinese troops barely four miles beyond the border. The thickly populated hill areas on the northern border must be defended effectively, he said, and India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them, should a situation arise when the choice lay between these two courses of action. Was not, Mr. Anthony asked in Parliament on the same day, the decision to deny even the minimum tactical air support to the troops in NEFA taken at the highest political level? Of course it was and for the best of reasons, and these reasons Mr. Pant entirely ignores when he says that India should hit the Chinese lines of communications in Tibet rather than abandon the Himalayas to them. And Mr. Pant has got to ignore them because he has made up his mind to support the policy of non-alignment which makes for our aerial weakness and disabled us from giving tactical air support to the troops in NEFA. Let us feel like our countrymen on the border. Let us put ourselves in their place and see what it feels like. Let us then put our hands and hearts and say, If we can, "Non-alignment is the best course for us." The trouble with us is that we do not feel for our own countrymen, that those of us who are at a distance from the border can talk of non-alignment with the assurance that by the time the Chinese reach our homes the American will be upon them. That is the extent of Congress patriotism indirectly and inadvertently unmasked by Mr. Pant.

The Question

It is true we are getting aid under non-alignment. We shall get more aid under it, but the question today is, not whether it will make our armed forces fully capable of throwing out the aggressor at some future date, as Mr. Desai put it, but whether it has made our armed forces fully capable of repelling invasion that may come at any time now. He will be a bold man who answers that question in the affirmative, and if the answer is in the negative, as it must

be, in view of our Prime Minister's request to the USA for air cover, then our non-alignment has been a failure. To hope that it may yet succeed is to put the nation's future in jeopardy and it is no part of wisdom to take chances with a country's security. There should be no element of doubt where our security is concerned. All that is being said is that we are better prepared. That "better" may not be enough to prevent the Chinese advance. It obviously is not, otherwise something more satisfactory would have been claimed than "better" preparation. It reminds me of a fellow-student who was always better prepared for the forthcoming examination than he was for the last one in which he got plucked.

We should not be found napping again. We should not be found living in a world of our own creation, happy as that world for the moment seems. And yet, except in the speech of Mr. Hanumanthiya, there was at the AICC session no awareness in any one else's mind of the clear implications of non-alignment in the context of the expected Chinese invasion, or of our attempt, if and when it comes, to throw the Chinese out of our territory.

Mr. B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, said he did not understand why it was necessary to reiterate the policy of non-alignment time and again when it had been clearly accepted by the Party and was understood by every Congressman. It is true that it has been clearly accepted by the Party but the reason for reiterating it obviously is that those who form the Party doubt the efficacy, as they did decades ago the efficacy of non-violence, for which reason Gandhi had to emphasise its efficacy every day. Mr. Patnaik said the country should be prepared to meet the Chinese challenge "even if there is no United States or no Soviet Union to help us, and even if we are to be occupied for a quarter of a century." That should be our approach, Mr. Patnaik frankly said. What makes him think the Soviet Union can help us against China? There, however, is where the difference lies. The average Indian, and even the average Congressman is not prepared to see the country occupied for a quarter of a century, a proposition admittedly implicit in non-alignment. Does he think India will be able to free herself after the Chinese occupation of the country for 25 years? For Mr. Patnaik and most Congressmen Mr. Nehru and his doctrines come first and the security of the country is something to be gambled with.

A common debating trick when reasons are lacking is to exaggerate beyond recognition the stand of the opponent and then ridicule it. Mr. Patnaik again carried away the palm when he said it was wrong to think that "at the first stress we fly into somebody's lap and then go to sleep". A wag would be inclined to retort "Fly into somebody's lap while you can," but Mr. Patnaik would apparently prefer to fly into somebody's lap after a quarter of a century's occupation of

the country by the Chinese. He might, like Mahatma Gandhi, have added, "Ultimately we shall emerge victorious. What are a few centuries in the cycle of time?" He seems in fact to be a serious rival to Jaya Prakash Narain, for he said, "We must have the guts and determination to remain free, otherwise, to use the least harsh words, we are not yet free and not fit to be free." These are words born of great expectations but here unwittingly he declares his complete agreement with the Chinese who want to liberate India. His was indeed an outspoken performance from a joyful, hopeful heart, but what makes one wonder is that all these fervent devotees of non-alignment did not even clap their hands to show the warmth of their attachment to non-alignment. That should induce one to think they are only paying lip service to the cause, lest they are found lagging behind in the race for favours from the Bestowers of ALL Gifts.

Congressmen should have an anthem of their own addressed to Nehru. It may be adapted from the British anthem:

Thy choicest gifts in store
On us be pleased to pour.
Long may you rule
On all those whom you fool.....

That the race is on is clear from what passed between Messrs. Desai and Jain. Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain said he was a little surprised to find that the mover of the resolution, Mr. Desai, had perhaps by chance forgotten to say anything about the reiteration of the policy of non-alignment made in the resolution. In the course of his reply to the debate Mr. Desai more than made up for the unpardonable lapse by declaring, "We cannot have unity even at the cost of non-alignment, as that unity will destroy the fabric of the country." This policy, he said, had been supported, strengthened and popularised by Mr. Nehru. "Let us thank him," he said, "that he has taken up this policy in a very bold way." (Cheers.)

Many indeed are the suppositions on which non-alignment is based. Seth Govind Das said if India gave up non-alignment, it would hasten a world war. One would have thought if India gave up non-alignment the Chinese would desist, as they desist from attacking small Taiwan and from occupying Quemoy and Matsu. If India joined the Western Bloc, he said Russia would completely side with China. What makes him think the present partnership is incomplete? China does not want soldiers and the rest is provided by Russia, including bombers and missiles and submarines. Their maps show the identity of purpose outlined by their Prophet Lenin in famous maxim, "the way to London lies through Peking and China". Congressmen, he said, must prepare the people for any sacrifice necessary for defending the country's honour and integrity—except perhaps the sacrifice of non-alignment which alone can defend the country's honour and integrity.

The Assam Chief Minister, Mr. B. P. Chaliha, did not want to be outdone by anybody. He said the Chinese aggression has given four new experiences to the country. One, a nation whom we thought to be our friend betrayed us, (The Swatantra Party deserved to be condemned for having warned us against that nation). Experience No. 2 is that we are not militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal. No. 3—the policy of non-alignment which the country has been following is correct. Is it correct because we should not be militarily strong enough to deal with such betrayal? Experience No. 4—in order to be really strong we should accelerate not the military programme but the economic programme. So here we have the whole argument for non-alignment in a nut-shell; the Chinese betrayal and our inability to deal with that betrayal!

It is difficult to disagree with Mr. M. N. Bahuguna who said, "Non-alignment is something inherent in the genius of the country". Mr. Bahuguna was very modest about his country. Not non-alignment alone by everything that leads to the enslavement of the country is inherent in the genius of the country, particularly the Hindus. Is it for nothing that we hold the world's record in slavery—slavery of a thousand years which Attlee in a fit of sentimental generosity put an end to—despite the desire of the Father of the Nation to the contrary—in 1947? Our Prime Minister has boldly declared—all honour to him—that he would rather see the country overrun by the Chinese than give up non-alignment.

MR. NEHRU ALWAYS SHIELDS THOSE WHO BASK IN HIS FAVOUR

Speaking in the Lok Sabha on demands for grants for the Home Ministry, Mr. H. V. KAMATH, M.P., attacked the "somnolence, complacency and apathy" of Government; he also criticised the Government's misuse of emergency powers which, instead of serving to strengthen the nation, were being used to cover up the same "sloth, indolence and corruption" that had "tainted and stained its escutcheon in the days before the emergency".

Mr. Kamath also wanted to know why the administration was so eager to shield its personnel when they violated strict norms of behaviour.

He referred to an incident where material from the draft address of the President to the Parliament leaked out much before the scheduled date. *Mr. Kamath alleged that a Cabinet Secretary, who addressed a meeting at the Institute of Public Administration on February 11, referred to the draft address of the President and said it was a secret document till the 18th February, when it would be delivered. Then the official, according to Mr. Kamath, quoted from the draft address to illustrate what he was saying.*

Pointing out that the Prime Minister had shielded the Cabinet Secretary on this occasion, Mr. Kamath, said, "Mr. Nehru has been in the habit of doing this since Independence—shielding his favourites, his friends, those who bask in his favour right from the days of the Jeep Scandal."

SOCIALISM: A BARREN SYSTEM

By LEONARD E. READ

SOCIALISM depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create. Socialism is operative only in wealth situations brought about by modes of production other than its own. Socialism takes and redistributes wealth, but it is utterly barren when it comes to producing wealth.¹

But first, let the terms of discourse be clarified. Socialism is state ownership and/or control of the means of production. And democratic socialism is no less socialism than the autocratic variety. Socialism is just as surely state ownership and/or control of the means of production when installed by majority vote as when installed by a dictator. Socialism doesn't give a hoot how it climbs into the political saddle.

Communism can be properly defined as the communalization by force of the product of all. Marx put it succinctly: "From each according to ability, to each according to need." There have been some 200 small-scale communistic experiments in this country, one of the first being the Plymouth Colony during its first three years. The production of every colonist was forcibly directed into a common warehouse and doled out by those in authority according to need. Free choice of what to do with the fruits of his own labor was denied the individual Pilgrim.

In what respect, then, do socialism and communism differ? As far as their mode of operation is concerned, not at all. Bear in mind that Khrushchev and party refer to themselves as "communists," but that they call their nation the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." They know full well, and we should know, that socializing the means of production and socializing the results of production are but two sides of the same coin, inseparable in practice. The state that controls production is going to control the distribution of what is produced; and the state that distributes the product must, eventually, control its production.

While there are meaningless differences in detail between fascism, communism, and socialism, we must conclude that they are of the same warp and woof as the welfare state, the planned economy, Fabianism Nazism, and state interventionism: the application of state force to both the means and the results of production. And insofar as the policies of the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Republicanism, and the New Frontier socialize, or forcibly communalize, or plan production and distribution, then, to that extent they, too, exemplify the same collectivist principle.

The Premise, in Two Parts

Now to return to my original assumption.

Socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself can never create.

This accusation has two parts: (1) there has to be wealth before wealth can be socialized; and (2) socialism cannot create the wealth in the first place.

With everyone's wealth at zero, there is no one from whom anything can be taken. Many of our Pilgrim fathers starved during the first three years of community communism because there was so little in the warehouse to dole out. Communism, or one of our numerous names for the same thing, the welfare state, presupposes the existence of wealth which can be forcibly extorted. Is this not self-evident?

There remains, then, only to show that socialism—the planned economy—cannot give rise to the means of production; that is, state ownership and/or control of the means of production cannot create the wealth on which state welfare rests.

State Socialism

State socialism is authoritarianism; that is, it rests on coercive force. There is no socialistic act in this country, or in Russia, or anywhere else, that is not backed by the police power of the state. If anyone has any doubt about this, let him refuse to pay his share of subsidies to farmers, or of TVA deficits, or of our governmental gifts to other socialistic governments, or whatever. The penalty for noncompliance is severe, indeed. This, or the threat of it, is coercion, pure and unadulterated!

The idea I am trying to develop will not make sense to any person who does not fully grasp the fact that all state action rests on force or the threat of force. Coercion is government's essential and distinguishing ingredient. The distinction between you as an agent of government and you as a private citizen is that as an agent of government you have the constabulary back of you: issue an edict, and I obey or take the consequences. Lose the backing of the constabulary and you are restored to private citizenship: issue an edict, and it has no more force than a chamber of commerce resolution, and I do as I please.

Even if every citizen is in agreement with a particular law, the law still has the police force to support it. Government is law backed by force; this is government properly defined.

An Illusion of Productivity

Socialism, we must admit, gives the illusion of being productive. The productivity, however, exists in spite of socialism, not because of it.

The productivity originates in the free, creative energy which ignores or escapes socialism's repression; that is, which oozes through or around socialism's smothering blanket. In England following the Napoleonic Wars, and in the United States under the NRA and the OPA, legal restrictions blanketed large areas of production and exchange. But note this: neither country's socialistic decrees were entirely obeyed. In each instance there were gross violations of socialism, with the result that the people managed to live. Such material well-being as there was appeared to come from socialism. It actually came, however, from free, creative energy which for obvious reasons, was more or less hidden and unpublicized.

Numerous other distractions help to hide socialism's essential sterility. For instance, we observe that many government schoolteachers act no less creatively than do teachers of private schools. Scientists in the employ of government have inventive experiences, as do independent scientists and those in corporate employ. TVA, a socialistic enterprise, produces electrical energy of the same quality as that from an investor-owned plant. Agents of the state and private citizens more or less look alike, dress alike, behave alike. We choose our friends as often from one set as from the other. Meeting a stranger, one could not tell to which category he belongs.

What Really Happens

If we would properly evaluate the effect of coercion, with its absolute absence of creativeness, we should have to disregard these distractions. We need to recognize that it is not the government schoolteacher who exercises the three types of coercion implicit in socialistic education: (1) compulsory attendance, (2) government-dictated curricula, and (3) the forcible collection of the wherewithal to pay the school bill. Furthermore, we rarely feel any coercions simply because we meekly obey the laws backed by force; that is, we **do** send our children to school, we **do not** prescribe our own curricula, we **do** pay the tax bill. But refuse to acquiesce in any one of these three phases of compulsion and see what happens!

The scientist employed by the state, trying to figure out how to put three men on the moon, exercises no coercion. The coercion is applied to the collection of the funds which pay him to work as a free agent. He will work just as freely, as creatively, regardless of how his salary is collected. A billion dollars, whether garnered at the point of a gun or voluntarily donated, is in either case a billion dollars. A dollar extorted or a dollar freely given is still a dollar, with a dollar's purchasing power.

In the absence of socialism's coercion, each dollar would be used in accord with its owner's choice, to buy food or clothing, to educate the children, to take a vacation, to buy a sailboat.

Coercion only diverts the dollars from owner use and puts them to state use. If, as predicted, putting three men on the moon will cost \$20 billion to \$40 billion, then that much freedom of choice will be destroyed. This enormous portion of our productivity will be socialized. The people are coercively relieved of their individual choices in order to permit a single choice, exercised by whoever heads the socialistic régime. Authoritarianism is forcibly substituted for individual liberty. What we witness here is a diversionary process accomplished by police action.

The Forgotten Man

We will go astray in our analysis of this complex process unless we examine coercion at one of its points of impact—for instance, the impact on the citizens who are forced to foot the bills. Let's, then, ask ourselves this question: Is the extortion of your income (in order that another may have the say-so as to what it will be spent for) a creative act? Does it make any difference to what use the other will put it? Charity, relief, moon shots, or whatever? Does it make any real difference whether or not the other is a person or a collective? Is this extortion in itself creative? There is no rational, affirmative answer to these questions. Extortion—coercion—is destructive. **It destroys your freedom of choice!** Coercion, by its nature, is destructive.

Misdirection of Resources

We now come to the most important point in this thesis: True Mr. Big, or the head of any other socialist state can, with the money he has obtained by diverting funds from producers' use to his own use, induce creative action along the lines of his choice. But observe where this authoritarian process channels creative energies: **it puts genius at work on questionable if not downright evil ends!** Let us remember that not all genius is employed on the side of the angels. Is it not plain that creative energies can be turned to destructive ends? Do we need any more proof of this than the amazing ingenuity that has brought about the most destructive force ever devised by man? But putting aside the H-bomb, and such miraculous and fascinating follies as orbiting monkeys and men around our earth, reflect on the countless economy-destroying projects that result from man lording it over his fellow men.

I began this paper with the resolve to demonstrate that socialism depends upon and presupposes material achievements which socialism itself cannot create, that socialism is productively sterile. But after thinking it through, I must confess that my affirmation can be proven only to those persons who see the long-range effects of present actions.

—Condensed from *The Freeman*.

Book Review

Freedom and History by Professor H. D. Lewis, The University of London. George Allen and Unwin, London, Pages 334. 42s. 1962.

Professor Lewis is now the editor of the famous series of original philosophical works started over half a century ago under the name of The Library of Philosophy by the late Professor J. H. Muirhead who attained a leading position among idealist philosophers inheriting the mantle of Anglo-Hegelian (Graeco-Christian) tradition in European philosophy. The library now fitly bears his name in recognition of his long and devoted service to philosophy. Professor Lewis continues the catholic tradition of his predecessor.

The volume under review entitled *Freedom and History* consists of several essays, reviews and addresses of Professor Lewis published over several years and now brought together in one volume. They display a distinct unitary outlook and bear signs of being integral parts of a complete philosophy of human life from the standpoint of the highest values of culture and religion.

The bulk of them are concerned with the issue of freedom. They are weighted with informed anxiety for the future of Western civilisation (as such) vis-a-vis the challenge of communist totalitarianism to free nations and the free way of life everywhere. He is acutely aware of the overall drive of social and psychological forces in contemporary thought (in the sciences and the humanities) towards a mechanisation of outlook ignoring the note of inward freedom.

He devotes several chapters to the thought of T. H. Green and Rousseau to show how an inadequate individualism passes into a false collectivism in their thinking. The general will gets confused with collective herd consciousness in which individual thinking is lost. In one later chapter he reviews a book by Barbara Wootton which as usual in present thought over-stresses the role of the environment in the incidence of crime and minimises the element of individual responsibility and freedom. This, he thinks, is a characteristic defect of the modern temper, which is also typically exemplified by Marxism which issues in economic determinism. The experience of communist countries does not bear out this vision for even without the responsibility for making one's living on one's own and with a secure living provided by the State, we find juvenile delinquency becoming quite a problem and individual *irresponsibility* a fearful social puzzle, hundreds being executed every year for disregarding socialist property.

Christian theology emphasises the importance of history for the destiny of man, for God revealed Himself in a unique revelation and *incarnation* at a point of time and will reappear at a point of time to establish a kingdom of God on earth. This is supposed to give a social goal to history, a far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves. St. Augustine sketched a political theory of the City of God in this context. To this is affiliated a social hope of an "earthly paradise," a perfect society on earth in the future to be developed by the historical processes of nations, revolutions and evolutionary reforms. To promote this social end is good; to obstruct this is bad. Marxism has its own dialectical version of this social meliorism. Professor Lewis devotes several chapters to a consideration of the implications for freedom of a sane philosophy of history.

—M. A. Venkata Rao.

Gleanings from the Press

NEHRU'S SENSITIVENESS TO PARTYMEN'S WRONG-DOING WEARING AWAY

It is sad to note that the PM is now inclined to explain allegations based on documented evidence of corruption of Congress ministers as just another strategy of anti-Congress criticism. His sensitiveness to wrong-doing on the part of his partymen, as I observed with pain a couple of weeks ago, is wearing away. These gifts from managing agents of companies are not gifts but are the material gains of intimidation and illegal favours. In the simple terms of our old Penal Code these collections amount to criminal intimidation or bribery. The purpose for which the money obtained was to be used is irrelevant, be it election purposes or even the most saintly and pious causes conceivable. The crime which a person in authority, or in a position to use authority, commits by using or offering or threatening to use such authority in favour of or against a person in order to obtain a 'gift', be it for whatever purpose, is clearly defined in the Indian Penal Code. No learning or government rules are needed to supplement the provisions of this scientifically drafted code. That this crime was widely and openly practised makes no difference either. The authority given by Parliament to managing directors to give away company funds does not modify or mitigate the offence of the minister, or official, who presumably used his position of authority to get the custodians of the company's fund to part with it. A callus is developing rapidly which is fatal to good government and democracy.

That persons belonging to Opposition parties make a great noise about these things, only proves the public utility of Opposition parties. It does not make the acts less criminal. These donations obtained by the party in office make a tremendous block in the way of fair elections and converts democracy into a marionette of the Congress moneybag clientele.

—C. R. in 'SIVARAJYA'

News & Views

KENNEDY SUGGESTS GREATER AID TO INDIA WASHINGTON.

President Kennedy asked Congress for 4,525 million dollars in foreign aid during the fiscal year beginning July next—596 million dollars more than the figure appropriated by Congress for the current year.

The President began his message with the famous quotation from Milton: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." and said:

"No peacetime victory in history has been as far-reaching in its impact nor has served the cause of freedom so well as victories scored in the last 17 years by this nation's mutual defence and assistance programmes.

"These victories have been in the main quiet instead of dramatic. Their aim has been not to gain territories for the United States, for support in the United Nations, but to preserve freedom and hope and to prevent tyranny and subversion in dozens of key nations all over the world."

Mr. Kennedy noted the success of the United States aid efforts in Turkey and Greece in saving them respectively from "the Soviet external aggression and the Communist internal subversion" as also the success of threat made plain by the Chinese attack on India last fall may require additional efforts on our part to help bolster security of this crucial area."

MISSILES FOR BORDER, FITERS IN PLAINS — WESTERN AID PLAN

The Hindustan Times Correspondent reports from Washington that a clearer picture is now available of the strategic framework within which Anglo-American assistance may be available for India's air defence.

The main guidelines are reported to have been approved by U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara and Britain's Defence Minister Peter Thronycroft in London with details concerning the quantity and equipment to be negotiated in consultation with the Indian defence team arriving here on Monday.

Basically, the Anglo-American plan envisages different forms of protection for the belt of mountainous and sub-mountainous territory adjoining the Tibetan border and the rest of the country.

The strategic centres in the border zone would be guarded by ground-to-air missiles, whereas possible targets deeper in the plains would be under fighter cover.

The Western assistance would take the form of ground-to-air and air-to-air missiles, radar and communication equipment and to increasing the number rather than improving the type of aircraft in IAF service.

SUPER TAX IS EXTRA BURDEN — SAYS LONDON TIMES

LONDON,

The Times today criticised India's new super profits tax as an additional burden.

It said the new burden was "bound to make foreign firms in India think twice before going ahead with any further expansion."

An editorial headed "Indian tax on efficiency" in this independent daily, said that company taxation in India was already at a high level.

Two particular parts of the budget of six weeks ago were causing concern in the business world—the super profits tax and the new restriction on the value of individual emoluments which could be set against company taxation.

OBJECTION

The Times objected that the new tax would fall most heavily on the most efficient firms and that it would particularly penalise new firms in the initial stages of growth—a time when they would normally want to retain a higher proportion of their earnings. The estates too would be badly hit, it added.

The newspaper said the need for the severity of the Indian budget was not in dispute. The cost of the defence effort against China had already opened a large gap between revenue and expenditure.

It said all sections of the community should be expected to share the extra burdens. But the Indian authorities would be well advised to consider whether the super profits tax proposals might not be against the longer term interests of the Indian economy, it added.

The paper pointed out: "If the extra defence effort is not to stultify the Third Five-Year Plan, dependence on foreign aid is bound to increase rather than diminish."

ANTHONY DENOUNCES LANGUAGES BILL

NEW DELHI, April 15.

Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P., today suggested that the Official Languages Bill should be circulated at least to the

non-Hindi speaking legislatures for their opinion before it is sought to be passed.

In a statement Mr. Anthony said it would appear from lobby reports that the Government proposed to rush through the Bill in a week's time. This, in his view, would be an "unpardonable imposition" on the non-Hindi speaking people.

An immediate disastrous effect of the implementation of the Bill, he said, would be the upsetting of the whole employment pattern.

"While, at present, the Hindi speaking candidates find it difficult to compete with those from the non-Hindi speaking States, the implementation of this measure will give an interesting monopolistic stranglehold to the most inferior candidates merely because of the accident of their knowing Hindi," Mr. Anthony said.

MR. NATH PAI M.P.'S FLING AT SYSTEMATIC PRUNING OF DEFENCE MINISTER CHAWAN'S POWERS

Mr. Nath Pai in his speech in the Parliament during the Budget Session said: "there was no strategy. No sooner had Mr. Chawan come here, efforts were made to prune his wings. *'The Defence Minister has been caged, cabined and crippled'*."

He referred to the vital aspects of the Colombo proposals, adding: "Is not the Defence Ministry concerned with this? *Everybody was called when the delegation of the Colombo powers were here. One absence was that of the Defence Minister'*."

In the past Mr. Nath Pai pointed out, Defence was subordinated to External Affairs. "Today the time has come when we should try to see to it that Development, External Affairs and Defence play in symphony. *The old cacophony and discordance must go. The stream must be integrated and if anything both Development and External affairs must be subordinated to the requirements of the defence of our country and everything else will come after that.'*"

10-YEAR PLAN TO CHECK POPULATION GROWTH

AURANGABAD.

Mr. M. D. Chaudhari, Maharashtra's Health Minister has suggested a ten-year family planning programme for the State to tackle the problem of population growth.

The population growth, he said prevented appreciable improvement in the living standards of the people.

Mr. Chaudhari, who was presiding over the seventh meeting of the State Family Planning Board here, said that this programme might involve an expenditure of Rs. 30 crores during the ten-year period.

The plan would envisage greater emphasis on sterilisation, fixing of targets to be achieved in each district and the creation of incentives among the people through education.

He added that at the present rate of population growth, the total population in the State would be 488 lakhs by 1971 (as compared with 395 lakhs in 1961).

By 1981 it would have reached the 600-lakhs mark.

The ten-year family planning programme, he emphasised aimed at reducing the rate of growth by 50 per cent.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE BANGALORE.

BANGALORE, April 15: Mr. V. K. Narasimhan addressed the Study circle Meeting on "National Emergency." Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

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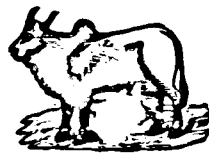
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